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Henry F. DeBardeleben, Industrialist of the New South

JUSTIN FULLER

HE CALLED HIMSELF a “piney rooter,” a lean type of hog that rooted into the earth in search of sustenance.¹ But Henry F. DeBardeleben was far more than a “piney rooter”—he was the epitome of the “New South” industrialist who represented the boom-and-bust spirit so evident in the region during the late nineteenth century. During the 1880s and 1890s he was the dominant figure in the development of the coal and iron industries of Alabama.

Born in Autauga County in 1840, DeBardeleben was the son of a South Carolina planter who had moved to Alabama in the 1830s. After the elder DeBardeleben’s death in the early 1850s, his widow and their three children joined the household of their neighbor and friend Daniel Pratt, the noted cotton gin manufacturer. Pratt became the guardian of young Henry, watching over both his inheritance and his education.²

Life in the Pratt household was comfortable. The house was large and set upon spacious and well-landscaped grounds on the banks of Autauga Creek in Prattville. Sadly, the contrasting personalities of Pratt and young Henry probably disrupted this comfortable life on occasion. A hard-

This Presidential Address was read at the meeting of the Alabama Historical Association in Selma, April 27, 1985.

¹ H. F. DeBardeleben quoted in *Manufacturers’ Record*, X (January 15, 1887), 812.

² *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, Population Schedule, Autauga County, Alabama; *The Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*, Population Schedule, Autauga County, Alabama; Minute Book 3, p. 76, Autauga County Probate Records, Autauga County Courthouse, Prattville; Mrs. S. F. H. Tarrant, ed., *Hon. Daniel Pratt: A Biography*, . . . (Richmond, 1904), *passim*.

working New Englander, Pratt was imbued with a strong work ethic and a deep sense of public and social responsibility. A man of temperate habits, he had accumulated one of the largest fortunes in antebellum Alabama through diligent and careful work. In contrast, Henry DeBardeleben was quite the opposite in personality and habits. Resisting discipline, he grew to be a free-spirited individual who preferred a bold gamble to routine labor.³

Despite the differences in their personalities the bonds between the two were strong and, undoubtedly, were made stronger in 1862 when DeBardeleben married Pratt's only child, eighteen-year-old Ellen.⁴ Pratt came to depend more and more upon his son-in-law who, after a brief stint in the Confederate Army, took over the management of several of the Pratt works that had been pressed into Confederate service. After the Civil War he continued to serve his father-in-law in various ways.⁵

The war evidently had little adverse effect upon Pratt's factories or his fortune. He soon acquired a large interest in the Red Mountain Iron and Coal Company, which owned several partially destroyed coal mines near Helena, the two badly damaged Oxmoor blast furnaces in Jefferson County, and approximately 6,500 acres of iron ore lands on Red Mountain. In May 1872 Pratt and DeBardeleben traveled to these properties and arranged to put them back into operation. However, many problems beset their efforts. The market for iron in postwar Alabama was limited, both the management and the labor were inexperienced, and the furnaces suffered from a shortage of suitable fuel. Further compounding these problems were the 1873 panic and the death of Pratt, who had been the principal financier

³ *Eighth Census*, Autauga County; Tarrant, *Daniel Pratt*, *passim*; Ethel M. Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (Birmingham, 1910), 239–41.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Ethel Armes, "The Spirit of the Founders," *The Survey*, XXVII (January 6, 1912), 1453.

and driving force behind the endeavor. By the end of 1873 the Oxmoor works were closed.⁶

Only a year and a half after Pratt's death, his wife Esther died, leaving her daughter Ellen and son-in-law Henry as the principal beneficiaries of Daniel Pratt's wealth, which included the interest in the Red Mountain Company.⁷ DeBardeleben soon sold their portion of this company to the newly created Eureka Company for \$160,000 and with that capital began building his own fortune.⁸

Between 1878 and 1883 DeBardeleben acquired promising coal and iron ore lands in Jefferson County. He called upon Joseph Squire, a veteran of the Lancashire coal pits of northern England and one of the few mining engineers in Alabama, to survey the region for him. Squire bought lands for DeBardeleben—in the Warrior coal field to the north of Birmingham, in the Blue Creek coal basin of western Jefferson County, in the Cahaba River basin, and along the western end of Red Mountain.⁹

In July 1878 DeBardeleben joined with two other capitalists, Truman H. Aldrich and James W. Sloss, in establishing the Pratt Coal and Coke Company. Aldrich was a trained engineer who had begun mining operations in Shelby County in 1873; Sloss had been involved in developing railroads in northern Alabama and was then heading

⁶ Joseph Squire, "Autobiography" (manuscript), in possession of Kenneth Penhale, Helena, Ala.; W. B. Allen, "Tennessee Coal, Iron, & Railroad Company" (typescript), 6, Edward R. Stettinius Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

⁷ Pratt died intestate, and DeBardeleben filed an application on June 17, 1874 with the Autauga County Probate Court to serve as the administrator of the estate, which was apparently divided between Pratt's daughter Ellen DeBardeleben and his nephew Merrill Pratt. The actual value of his estate cannot be determined but was probably about \$500,000, perhaps even more. In 1860 the value of his personal property was listed at \$250,000 in the census schedules. Minute Book 14, p. 49, Autauga County Probate Records; Tarrant, *Daniel Pratt*, 174; *Eighth Census*, Autauga County.

⁸ Allen, "T.C.I.," 94; Deed Book 25, pp. 794–95, Deed Book 33, p. 266, Jefferson County Probate Records, Jefferson County Courthouse, Birmingham.

⁹ Squire, "Autobiography."

the reorganized Eureka Company, which was in desperate need of high quality coking coal.¹⁰ Taking Joseph Squire's advice on the best site for a coal mine in Alabama, the Pratt Company bought lands north of the infant city of Birmingham. In October Squire opened the first of several mines that came to be known collectively as the Pratt Mines. Coke ovens were built, and a rail line constructed from the mines into Birmingham.¹¹ Because of his tendency to dominate the management, DeBardeleben did not work well with his fellow stockholders. By 1881 both Aldrich and Sloss had withdrawn from the Pratt Company, and DeBardeleben had become the sole owner of the largest and most successful coal and coke company in Alabama.¹²

Not content with merely mining coal, DeBardeleben soon entered several other ventures. He advanced much of the capital for the Edwards furnace in Bibb County; he was one of the two principal investors in the Alice Furnace Company, which erected the first blast furnace in the city of Birmingham and the largest in Alabama at that time; he built the Mary Pratt furnace on the eastern edge of Birmingham; and he opened the Henry Ellen Coal Mines in the Cahaba River basin.¹³

By 1881 DeBardeleben was more concerned about his

¹⁰ George M. Cruikshank, *A History of Birmingham and Its Environs* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1920), II, 6; Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (4 vols., Chicago, 1921), IV, 1572-73; Pratt Coal and Coke Company, Record of Incorporation and Minutes of Stockholders' and Directors' Meetings, July 8, 1878-October 1, 1883, pp. 1-5, Records of United States Steel Corporation, Offices of United States Steel Corporation, Fairfield, Ala., hereafter cited as U.S.S. Corp. Records.

¹¹ The first mine was on the site of one that had been partially opened by William Gould, a Scottish coal prospector. *Birmingham Daily Age*, March 4, 1885; William Gould quoted in *Nashville Daily American*, March 7, 1886; Squire, "Autobiography."

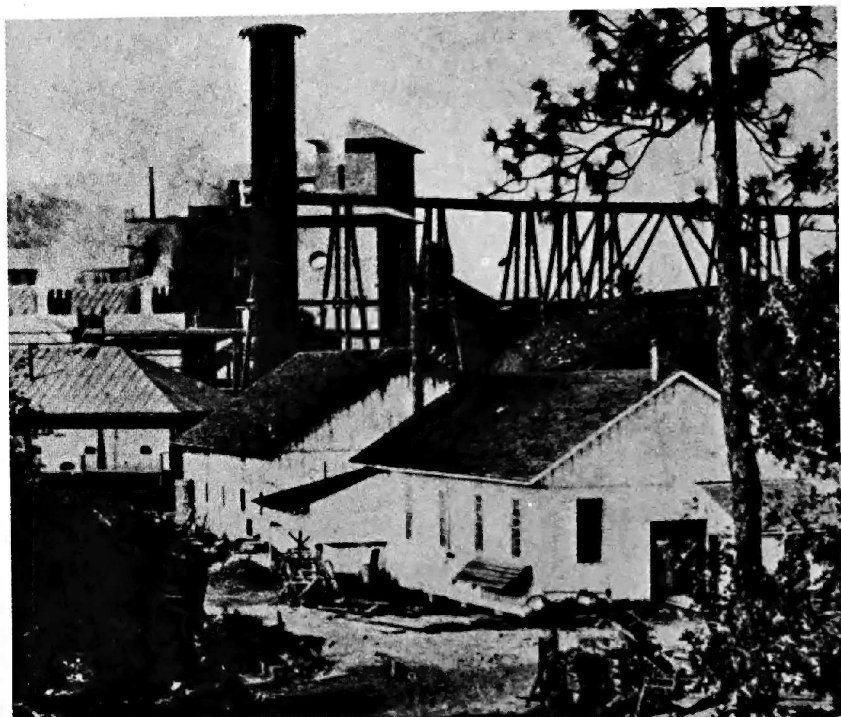
¹² Pratt Coal and Coke Co. Records, pp. 23, 30.

¹³ DeBardeleben often named his properties for members of his family. Thus, the Alice Furnace was named for his eldest daughter, the Mary Pratt for his second, and the Henry Ellen Mines for himself and his wife. Joseph H. Woodward II, *Alabama Blast Furnaces* (Woodward, Ala., 1940), 63-64, 37-38, 100; Squire, "Autobiography."



Henry F. DeBardeleben. (George M. Cruikshank, *A History of Birmingham and Its Environs . . .*)

health than his wealth. Fearing he had tuberculosis, he decided to move to the drier and presumably more healthful climate of northern Mexico. According to his friend John T. Milner, DeBardeleben first joined the church for the



View of Alice Furnace. (Birmingham Public Library Archives)

sake of his soul and then moved to Mexico for the sake of his body.¹⁴

Before leaving Birmingham he disposed of his principal enterprise, the Pratt Coal and Coke Company, to a syndicate of financiers from Memphis headed by Enoch Ensley. Ensley had recently been rebuffed in his efforts to buy into the Tennessee Coal and Railroad Company (later called TCI), the preeminent coal firm in Tennessee. A deal was struck on December 29, 1881, whereby Ensley acquired the Pratt Company in exchange for \$600,000 in notes payable over a six-year period.¹⁵

¹⁴ John T. Milner quoted in *Bessemer Weekly*, July 9, 1892.

¹⁵ Pratt Coal and Coke Co. Records, pp. 40, 43.

By the mid-1880s Birmingham had become the foremost “boomtown” in the South. Population grew rapidly as new industries were established; property values soared, and speculation ran rampant.¹⁶ One of the most notable events to occur during this time was the merger of Ensley’s Birmingham holdings with TCI. While the consolidated firm took the name of the latter company (Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company), its primary operations were centered in the Birmingham area. Greatly overcapitalized at \$10,000,000, TCI began construction on five new blast furnaces close to the Pratt Mines. While most of the officers—Ensley, Nat Baxter, Alfred M. Shook, and James Bowron—were Tennesseans, the dominant figure in the reorganized company was John H. Inman, one of New York’s boldest and most unscrupulous speculators.¹⁷

Just as TCI moved into Alabama, a new competitor rose to challenge it. Henry F. DeBardeleben came back to Birmingham to “make smoke,” as he called it. His health apparently improving, he saw attractive opportunities again beckoning in Alabama, partially as a result of his alliance with an able young Englishman, David Roberts. After working in a London bank for several years, Roberts had come to the United States and settled in South Carolina, where he had married into a prominent Charleston family with ties to influential capitalists.¹⁸ While traveling in Texas DeBardeleben and Roberts were introduced, and DeBardeleben turned on all of his charm in describing the fortunes that awaited investors and promoters in the Birmingham district. He evidently told Roberts of his exten-

¹⁶ H. M. Caldwell, *History of the Elyton Land Company and Birmingham, Ala.* (Birmingham, 1892), 14–18.

¹⁷ For a discussion of consolidation of the Pratt Company and TCI see Justin Fuller, “History of the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, 1852–1907” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1966), 70–82.

¹⁸ *Bessemer Weekly*, June 9, 1892; Cruikshank, *History of Birmingham*, II, 359–60; Birmingham *Age-Herald*, April 17, 1909; Armes, *Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama*, 330–32.



David Roberts, circa 1890. (Birmingham Public Library Archives)

sive coal lands in the Blue Creek basin and his rich ore lands on Red Mountain. DeBardleben proposed the building of a modern industrial city filled with blast furnaces and steel mills, one that would soon outstrip the wildly booming Birmingham.

Roberts was convinced, and on June 11, 1885 the two signed an agreement to establish a company that would develop nearly 30,000 acres of DeBardeleben's Alabama lands. DeBardeleben was to have a 50 percent share of the stock in exchange for his lands, Roberts 5 percent for raising the additional capital; and the remaining 45 percent would go to the English and South Carolina capitalists whom Roberts would enlist in the enterprise.¹⁹

Enthusiasm for the new project ran high. On March 21, while on his way to Charleston to work out the details of his new venture, DeBardeleben ebulliently described his plans to a newspaper reporter: "I have a big scheme working that will be news to the people of Birmingham. . . ." Pointing to a spot on a map of Alabama some twelve miles southwest of Birmingham, he added:

Here is where I am going to establish a young city. . . . I am now on my way to Charleston with Mr. Smythe [one of the Charleston group] and we are going to organize a company. . . . We are going to build a city that will contain eight furnaces within two years, and we propose to extend two railroad lines touching Tuscaloosa and another outlet to be determined on. We are going to build a city solid from the bottom up and establish it on a rock financial basis. No stockholder will be allowed to come in who can't make smoke. It will take \$100,000 to come in, and the man who can make the most smoke can have the most stock.²⁰

In March 1886 two corporations were established. One, the DeBardeleben Coal and Iron Company, was to be a large industrial enterprise, developing ore and coal mines and building coke ovens and blast furnaces. The other, the Bessemer Land and Improvement Company, was to develop a new city named for the noted English steelmaster, Sir Henry Bessemer. The city of Bessemer promised great profits to its promoters from speculation in their "boom-

¹⁹ Memorandum of syndicate agreement, June 11, 1885, in Records of DeBardeleben Coal and Iron Company, n.p., U.S.S. Corp. Records.

²⁰ H. F. DeBardeleben quoted in *Birmingham Age*, March 22, 1886.

town" lots.²¹ To lure industry to Bessemer, DeBardeleben promised anyone who would establish plants there for working iron, "or making smoke of any kind," a 5 percent discount on coal, coke, and iron.²² DeBardeleben himself raised more capital and developed more companies in Bessemer—the Little Belle Furnace Company and the Bessemer Iron and Steel Company. In 1889 he merged these firms as well as the Henry Ellen Coal Company and the reacquired Eureka Company into a greatly enlarged DeBardeleben Coal and Iron Company.²³

Although the DeBardeleben Company had initially been promoted as a speculative venture, by 1891 it was a substantial industrial enterprise. It possessed seven blast furnaces, seven large coal mines, and 140,000 acres of the richest coal and iron lands in the South. In 1890 it was producing iron for the remarkably low cost of only \$8.91 per ton.²⁴ At such a price it could undersell most of its rivals, especially the hard-pressed TCI. In his diary TCI treasurer James Bowron complained bitterly that DeBardeleben was "cutting prices below anyone else"; that he is "fighting us and opposing us at every turn and in every way."²⁵

Largely because of overexpansion of the coal and iron industries in Alabama, competition between the companies

²¹ Declaration of Incorporation of DeBardeleben Coal and Iron Company, June 1, 1886, DeBardeleben Company Records, n.p., U.S.S. Corp. Records; Allen, "T.C.I.," 116–17.

²² H. F. DeBardeleben quoted in *Manufacturers' Record*, X (October 2, 1886), 260.

²³ DeBardeleben's principal partner in the Little Belle Company was the notorious Major E. A. Burke, Louisiana state treasurer, who stole approximately \$1,000,000 in bonds from his state before fleeing to Honduras in 1889. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877–1913*, IX, Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, eds., *A History of the South* (10 vols., Baton Rouge, 1951), 72; Minutes of Stockholders' Meeting, December 10, 1889, and Minutes of Directors' Meeting, September 14, November 9, 1889, n.p., DeBardeleben Company Records, U.S.S. Corp. Records.

²⁴ *Debardeleben Coal and Iron Company*, brochure, p. 4, in Tutwiler Collection in Southern History, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham; Annual Report of the Board of Directors, April 3, 1890, n.p., DeBardeleben Company Records, U.S.S. Corp. Records.

²⁵ Diary of James Bowron, Jr., March 21, 27, 1890, in James Bowron Papers, University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa.

for the existing markets had become too severe for some companies. In order to ease the pressure it was facing, TCI proposed to "buy out" its chief rivals, including the DeBardeleben Company. Early in 1892 DeBardeleben was invited to meet with representatives of TCI in New York to arrange for a merger.²⁶ On March 18 an agreement was reached whereby TCI increased its stock by \$8,000,000 and exchanged that for all of the DeBardeleben stock. The consolidated company would continue with the TCI name, but DeBardeleben and his allies would be given places on the board of directors.²⁷ A few months later Truman Aldrich's Cahaba Coal Mining Company was brought into the consolidation with the issuance of an additional \$3,000,000 of TCI stock.²⁸ Then with \$21,000,000 of stock outstanding, with 400,000 acres of mineral lands and seventeen blast furnaces and a daily coal capacity of 13,000 tons, TCI had become the largest coal and iron company in the South and the third largest in the nation.²⁹

With the reorganization of TCI no single individual or group clearly dominated. While DeBardeleben was the largest individual stockholder, the \$21,000,000 in stock was so widely distributed that no individual could muster an absolute majority. Consequently, the two largest holders, DeBardeleben of Birmingham and John Inman of New York, reached an accord whereby their respective factions jointly managed the company with Inman's representative, Nat Baxter, as president and DeBardeleben as first vice-president.

²⁶ At a meeting of TCI officials held in New York one of the stockholders, F. L. Lehman, proposed that TCI acquire its two principal competitors, the DeBardeleben Company and the Sloss Iron and Steel Company. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1892.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1892; Allen, "T.C.I.," 24-25; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LVI (May 13, 1893), 791.

²⁸ Allen, "T.C.I.," 25-26.

²⁹ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LVI (May 13, 1893), 791; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LIV (November 5, 1892), 433.

This accord lasted less than a year. With his prestige at its height DeBardeleben set his sights on additional conquests. In February 1893 claiming control of 120,000 shares, he formulated plans to “corner” the market in TCI stock and drive the price up, or as he called it, “squeeze the short sellers.” He contacted both Nat Baxter and James Bowron, promising them “southern control” of the company in exchange for their support.³⁰ Then, as one writer has stated, “He plunged into the Wall Street wilderness with his usual daring and self-confidence, . . . [only to learn] that it was unlike the Alabama wilderness in which he had found his money.” Within six weeks he had lost most of his fortune, an estimated \$2,500,000.³¹

DeBardeleben’s failure came from his efforts to “bull” the TCI stock on a generally declining market. In spite of his claims to the contrary, he did not control sufficient shares to accomplish his goals; what stock he controlled was held on heavy margins that made his position even more tenuous. On February 24 a “bear” (i.e. selling) raid was launched against the stock that drove the price downward from 34 to 25 in only two days. After a brief recovery, the price continued to fall until it finally reached a low of 10.³² By the end of March DeBardeleben’s difficulties forced him to sell 25,000 shares to his rival John Inman, who was then trying to acquire a majority interest in the company. As the financial attacks on DeBardeleben continued, his resources dwindled. By the end of May his remaining shares were transferred to Inman, who triumphantly

³⁰ *New York Times*, March 26, 1893; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LV (April 1, 1893), 304; Bowron Diary, February 14, 1893.

³¹ H. N. Casson quoted in *Wall Street Journal*, February 2, 1907. Others suggested smaller losses, estimating the amount as being between \$750,000 and \$1,000,000. *Birmingham Age-Herald*, September 15, 1899.

³² *Wall Street Journal*, February 24, 25, March 1, April 18, July 26, 1893; Bowron Diary, February 24, 1893.

announced that his latest purchase "closes him [DeBardleben] out."³³

DeBardleben's gamble had not only cost him his fortune; it also ended Southern ownership and management of the principal coal and iron company in the South. Within a few years all of the Southerners would be ousted, and control of TCI would pass entirely into Northern hands.

Although he had been closed out of ownership within the company, DeBardleben was far from "closed out" of influence. Because of his prestige in the Birmingham district, he remained as first vice-president for another year. But since he was accustomed to running the whole show himself, he soon antagonized his fellow officers, Baxter, Aldrich, and even David Roberts. James Bowron confided to his diary that DeBardleben was accusing Aldrich of joining "a band to down him." Later Bowron recorded that DeBardleben's "amour propre [i.e. self-esteem] is wounded by Baxter consulting Inman & then Roberts before him. He is impeding Roberts in coming to B'ham & objecting to McC[ormick] being Gen[era]l M[anage]r for fear they will divide his power & glory in the eyes of the people."³⁴

Even while he was losing influence in TCI, DeBardleben actively promoted new industries. He organized an ore mining company, built a new blast furnace, and futilely pursued a plan to develop a steel mill in Bessemer.³⁵ By September 1894 TCI's New York directors were eager to rid themselves of this boisterous man. As a result of increasing hostility from the directors, DeBardleben agreed to

³³ John H. Inman quoted in Bowron Diary, May 24, 1893; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LV (April 1, 1893), 304.

³⁴ Bowron Diary, January 4, July 26, 1894.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 30, September 4, 1894; *Birmingham Daily Age*, June 1, 1894; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, LVIII (November 3, 1894), 425. For a description of DeBardleben's efforts to enter the steel business see Justin Fuller, "From Iron to Steel: Alabama's Industrial Evolution," *Alabama Review*, XVII (April 1964), 143.

resign as TCI's first vice-president provided the company would agree to buy ore from his new mining company. These terms were accepted, and on October 22, 1894 he departed. Three days later, at the instigation of the New York directors, the agreement to buy his ore was repudiated.³⁶ On this ignominious note Henry DeBardeleben's career with TCI closed.

Sadly for DeBardeleben the boom times for the individualistic entrepreneur in the Birmingham district were over. TCI and a few other large companies controlled the richest mineral lands, ironically lands that he had been responsible for opening. Nevertheless, he continued to promote coal and iron developments, albeit on a much smaller scale. His last major endeavor was the creation of the Alabama Fuel and Iron Company, which opened two large coal mines at Acmar in St. Clair County. On December 3, 1910 the seventy-year-old DeBardeleben suffered a heart attack while visiting the Acmar Mines. He died at his home in Birmingham three days later.³⁷

Henry DeBardeleben had once said that he looked on life as "one big game of poker."³⁸ In many ways that phrase described his life. He had won some hands and lost others. He had started his career with about \$250,000 inherited from Pratt. By the early 1890s he had increased his fortune to several million dollars, becoming one of the wealthiest men in Alabama. However, at his death he was worth only \$84,000, quite a drop from the earlier days.³⁹

As a promoter and speculator DeBardeleben was cer-

³⁶ Bowron Diary, September 8, October 18, 1894; Minutes of Governing Committee Meeting, October 17, 1894, and Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, October 24, 1894, 88, 92, Records of Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, U.S.S. Corp. Records.

³⁷ *Birmingham News*, December 7, 1910; *Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 7, 1910.

³⁸ Armes, *Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama*, 343.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3, 10; Report of Walker Percy, Executor, Henry F. DeBardeleben Estate, April 17, 1916, in Final Settlement Record, Book U, p. 60, Jefferson County Probate Records.



DeBardeleben home in 1890s, located at 14th Street and 2nd Avenue South, Birmingham, only a few blocks from Alice Furnace. (Birmingham Public Library Archives)

tainly a controversial figure, cheered by some as the “Christopher Columbus of Birmingham” and damned by others as an adventurer “on the make.”⁴⁰ Many of the miners in the area reviled DeBardeleben for his anti-union actions. After all, he had introduced the heinous convict lease system into the Pratt Mines soon after they were opened, and during the strikes of 1890 and 1894 he suc-

⁴⁰ *Wall Street Journal*, February 7, 1907. The term “adventurer ‘on the make’” was made in reference to Southern coal, iron, and land promoters in general and not to DeBardeleben specifically. *Iron Trade Review* quoted in *Manufacturers’ Record*, IX (October 2, 1886), 260.

cessfully replaced the striking white miners with nonunion blacks.⁴¹ He also bore some of the responsibility for the rapidity with which industrial growth took place in the Birmingham district and for the highly speculative character of that growth. Thus, he had contributed to the reputation that Birmingham had as an overcapitalized, "boom or bust" community.

But despite the criticisms directed against him, DeBarleben *was* a creator and a builder. He *did* open mines and build furnaces and new towns, and he *did* create jobs where there had been none before. Perhaps his own words best sum up his life and his accomplishments: "There's nothing like taking a wild piece of land all rock and woods . . . and turning it into a settlement of men and women; bringing railroads in, making payrolls, starting things going: nothing like boring a hillside through and turning over a mountain."⁴²

⁴¹ *Biennial Report of the Inspectors of Alabama Penitentiary, to the Governor 1884* (Montgomery, 1884), 21-24; *Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 17, 1890; *Manufacturers' Record*, XVIII (January 3, 1891), 6; S. F. Marion quoted in *Birmingham Daily News*, May 5, 1894.

⁴² Armes, "Spirit of the Founders," 1453.

The Thirty-Eighth Annual Meeting of The Alabama Historical Association

GRACE HOOTEN GATES

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION met in the heart of the Black Belt at Selma, Alabama, April 25, 26, and 27, 1985, for the Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting, hosted by the Cahawba Advisory Committee, the Selma-Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, and the Selma-Dallas County Preservation Society. The Selma General Arrangements Committee Cochairmen were Carl C. Morgan, Jr., Mrs. Elise Blackwell, and Mrs. Betty Callaway, who reported a final registration of 240.

Those who arrived Thursday enjoyed a festive reception at the recently restored Henderson House, an 1850 townhouse that currently serves as corporate headquarters for Circle S Industries. The owner, Larry D. Striplin, has received numerous preservation awards for the restoration. Mrs. Carl C. Morgan, Jr., and Mrs. Eleanor Allison headed the reception committee, which arranged bountiful refreshments described by Secretary James F. Sulzby, Jr., of Birmingham, as "out of this world."

The president of the Association, Dr. Justin Fuller of the University of Montevallo, convened the first General Session at 10:00 A.M. Friday, April 26, 1985, at the Walton Theatre. The group was the first to meet in the beautifully renovated facility, which was restored to serve as a performing arts center under the direction of Mrs. Arden McKenzie. After the invocation by the Reverend Peter

Hawes, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Carl C. Morgan, Jr., president of the Selma City Council, warmly welcomed the group to Selma in the absence of Mayor Joseph T. Smitherman. Dr. Edwin C. Bridges, director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, responded. Dr. Fuller then appointed two committees: the Nominating Committee, to be composed of Judge C. J. Coley of Alexander City, chairman, T. B. Pearson of Leroy, Dr. David T. Morgan of the University of Montevallo, and Chriss H. Doss of Birmingham; and the Time and Place Committee, to be composed of William H. Davidson of West Point, Georgia, chairman, Mrs. Wayne Smith of Huntsville, and Joseph T. Benefield of Birmingham. The Association president then called Carl C. Morgan, Jr., back to the rostrum to introduce Kincey Green, a Selma attorney who narrated an informative slide presentation on Cahawba, the first permanent capital of the state of Alabama. The presentation featured numerous pictures of the old capital town's structures that are no longer standing. Dr. Fuller called the attention of the Association to the book exhibit of The University of Alabama Press located in the Bishop's Room in St. Paul's Episcopal Church. After announcements by James F. Sulzby, Jr., Program Chairman Lee N. Allen of Samford University, and Mrs. Elise Blackwell, the group adjourned at 10:45 to historic St. Paul's Episcopal Church to hear the first of the papers ably arranged by the program chairman and his committee, Caldwell Delaney of Mobile and Mrs. Annie Ford Wheeler of Birmingham.

In Session "A" Winston Walker III of Huntsville presided and introduced the first speaker, Mrs. Madge Davis Barefield. Mrs. Barefield, a compiler of historical and genealogical material, spoke on "Birmingham's Potlatch Celebration: The Accomplishments." Explaining that the word "potlatch" was an Indian expression signifying the observance of a great event, she recounted the 1913 effort to

weld the citizens of Birmingham together after some troublesome years and to celebrate the city's prosperity. She concluded that although the festivities aroused feelings of mutual cooperation, business prosperity, and "fun and good humor," the mood was short-lived. Seventh generation Wilcox Countian Daniel Fate Brooks presented his paper on a fellow native, "Wilcox County's Emmett Kilpatrick—Prisoner of the Bolsheviks." He related the adventures of this Alabamian whose humanitarian impulses led him to Russia after World War I. Malcolm M. MacDonald, director of The University of Alabama Press, gave his insights on "Research Possibilities in Alabama History." Motivated both by the great need for a one-volume survey history of the state and by his desire to stimulate research and writing in the field of Alabama history, MacDonald explained that he had sought ideas from over 150 professional and lay historians. His presentation reported the perceived needs from the respondents and ranged from pleas for fresh interpretations, more biographies, and more community and county histories to the need for cataloging public documents and for better preservation of Alabama's historical records.

Louis Smith of the University of Montevallo presided over Session "B." Dr. Alston Fitts III of the Selma-Dallas County Museum presented a paper on the early career of "Benjamin S. Turner, Selma Congressman." Turner, Alabama's first black congressman, spent forty years as a slave. He ran a livery stable in Selma during the Civil War and then became Dallas County tax collector and a Selma city councilman during Reconstruction. His honesty and hard work earned him support from both blacks and native whites when he won election to Congress in 1870. Joe C. Acee of Sulligent spoke on "The Image of Rube Burrow." He recounted some of the escapades of this notorious northwest Alabama renegade. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs,

Jr., of Greensboro, the session's third speaker, admitted his unashamed bias as he spoke on "My Father, Hamner Cobbs, as Editor of the Greensboro *Watchman*." The elder Cobbs, already recognized as a gifted editorial writer when he acquired the Greensboro newspaper in 1940, used the paper for the next twenty-eight years as a forum for his enthusiastic and humorous espousal of "Southern causes." An article in *Life* in 1944 proclaimed Cobbs "Alabama's most militant 'white supremacy' newspaperman," while the *Birmingham News* described him at the time of his death in 1968 as the "conscience of the Black Belt."

J. Morgan Smith of Birmingham presided over Session "C" and introduced Dr. Leah R. Atkins of Samford University, who read the paper written by Dr. Margaret Sizemore Douglass also of Samford University. "The Kate Duncan Smith School in Marshall County" was named for a leader of the Alabama State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. The group established the school in 1924 for the children of the isolated families who lived on Gunter Mountain. Situated in 38 buildings on 240 acres, the school today serves 1,000 students from a 100-mile radius. The DAR still owns the school, but the Marshall County Board of Education provides teachers' salaries, bus transportation, and utilities for the buildings. Marvin L. Harper of Northport presented a paper entitled "Tuscaloosa Preservation Pays Off in Discoveries." He recounted how several investigative efforts in Tuscaloosa produced so much information that interest was aroused to save several endangered buildings and to put them to successful adaptive use. Nancy G. Anderson of Auburn University at Montgomery spoke on ". . . Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: Biography and History in Lella Warren's *Foundation Stone*." Mrs. Anderson related how the novelist, Warren, drew source material from her ancestors—the Warrens and the Underwoods—as well as from the history of Alabama and transposed these biographical and historical details into a best-selling novel.

At the conclusion of the Friday morning sessions the group adjourned to Cahawba, where picnic tables were spread beneath moss-laden oaks on the banks of the Alabama River. In this historic spot guests enjoyed a leisurely luncheon of Brunswick stew, Southern barbeque, slaw, tomatoes, onions, pickles, and iced tea, all prepared under the direction of caretaker Ollie Baldwin. Sam A. Sommers, Jr., of Selma informally told some interesting stories about the old capital, including one of the visit of French General LaFayette, and then assisted by Jack N. Nelms and B. V. Hain, both of Selma, led the group on a walking tour of the area.

During the remainder of the afternoon individuals toured Sturdivant Hall and the Smitherman Building in Selma. Designed by Thomas Helm Lee, Sturdivant Hall is a Greek revival house that also incorporates Gothic and Italianate elements. The beautiful mansion, dependencies, and grounds symbolize the grand lifestyle of the antebellum years. The restored three-story, red-brick Joseph T. Smitherman Historic Building with its massive Ionic columns now houses a museum of historic relics, artifacts, collections, and period furniture.

Association president Dr. Justin Fuller presided at the annual banquet, which convened at 7:00 P.M. in the Selma Convention Center. Mrs. Alston Fitts III was chairman of the banquet arrangements committee, assisted by Mrs. Wallace Buchanan, Mrs. Jack N. Nelms, and Charles W. Hooper, Jr. James R. Kuykendall of Fort Payne gave the invocation. Dr. Fuller introduced those at the head table: Mr. and Mrs. Kuykendall, Dr. William D. Barnard of The University of Alabama, Secretary and Mrs. James F. Sulzby, Jr., and Mrs. Kathryn Tucker Windham of Selma.

Mr. Sulzby introduced those members of the Executive Committee who were present: Dr. Lee N. Allen, Joseph T. Benefield, Dr. Edwin C. Bridges, Judge C. J. Coley, William H. Davidson, Chriss H. Doss, Dr. Grace H. Gates of

Anniston, Dr. Mary Jane McDaniel of The University of North Alabama, Dr. Tennant S. McWilliams of The University of Alabama at Birmingham, Mrs. Joseph G. Moore of Birmingham, Carl C. Morgan, Jr., Mrs. Aubrey E. Neeley of Montgomery, Jack N. Nelms, Dr. Jerry C. Oldshue of The University of Alabama, T. B. Pearson, Dr. Robert R. Rea of Auburn University, Mrs. Hugh Smith of Langdale, and Mrs. Wayne Smith.

Judge C. J. Coley presented the award for the outstanding local historical society to the Coosa County Historical Society. The group, organized in 1979, was cited for outstanding contributions including the establishment of a quarterly publication and the acquisition of the old Coosa County Jail in Rockford for use as a museum.

The biennial James F. Sulzby, Jr., Book Award for 1984–1985 was announced by Dr. Leah R. Atkins, chairman of the selection committee. She introduced the winning author, Dr. Rhoda Coleman Ellison, and presented to her the \$500 stipend for making the greatest contribution to Alabama history during this period with her book, *Bibb County, Alabama: The First Hundred Years, 1818–1918*, published in 1984 by The University of Alabama Press. Dr. Ellison, Professor Emeritus of English at Huntingdon College in Montgomery, now lives in Centreville. She served as professor of English for forty-one years and as chairman of the department from 1959 to 1971.

In the absence of the scheduled banquet speaker, Dr. Frank E. Vandiver of Texas A. & M. University, Dr. William D. Barnard introduced “Miss Julia Tutwiler,” delightfully portrayed by one of Alabama’s most famous storytellers, Mrs. Kathryn Tucker Windham. Costumed as “Miss Julia,” Mrs. Windham poignantly described how “she” became involved in prison reform and organized the “Benevolent Society of Tuscaloosa.” Miss Tutwiler’s visit to the 1880 legislative session resulted in prison reform laws calling for

heat, water, and sanitary facilities in the state's jails. She served for twenty years as president of the Alabama State Normal School at Livingston. Informative, humorous, and entertaining, Mrs. Windham never stepped out of Miss Julia's character as she led her spellbound audience to believe they were actually listening to one of Alabama's most illustrious women.

The traditional informal breakfast was held at 7:30 A.M. at the convention headquarters hotel, the Holiday Inn, with a past president of the Association, Jack N. Nelms, presiding. The Honorable Chriss H. Doss, immediate past president of the Association and still recovering from a recent automobile accident, used his talents as an ordained minister to invoke a stirring breakfast prayer. Mr. Nelms then introduced Judge C. J. Coley, another past president of the Association, who recalled "Anecdotes from the Lives of Prominent Alabamians I Have Known." He recounted humorous tales about George H. Denny, president of The University of Alabama, and his encounter with President Franklin D. Roosevelt during WPA days; the ten "demandants" of businessman and master of self-discipline Benjamin Russell of Tallapoosa County; the secret meeting between education activist W. F. Feagin and Tuskegee president Booker T. Washington; Alabama Power Company Board Chairman Thomas Wesley Martin's great success in convincing Surgeon-General William Crawford Gorgas to testify to the absence of malaria-carrying mosquitoes in Alabama reservoirs; and Sidney Z. Mitchell, who introduced hydroelectric power on U.S. naval vessels and introduced his Yankee friends to possum and cornbread. Other stories mentioned Frank P. Samford of Birmingham, James Thomas "Tom" Hefflin of Randolph County, and Braxton Bragg Comer of Birmingham.

The Saturday morning General Session convened at 10:00 A.M. in the Walton Theatre. President Justin Fuller

presided and reported that membership in the Association is holding steady at about 1,500. The group's sound financial condition, a credit to the efforts of the late Milo B. Howard, Jr., Secretary Sulzby, and Treasurer Miriam C. Jones of Montgomery, has enabled the Association to make the following contributions: Friends of the Alabama Archives, \$5,000; renovation of historic markers, \$5,000; and the Cahawba Advisory Commission, \$3,000. Mrs. Jones then gave the financial report. Secretary Sulzby made a plea for the prompt payment of dues and announced that Union Springs would be the site of the fall pilgrimage of the Association.

In the absence of Dr. Kenneth R. Johnson of the University of North Alabama, chairman of the Marker Committee, Dr. Peter F. Barty of the University of North Alabama reported the erection of three new markers in 1984: two in Tuscaloosa County, one in Shelby County. Three markers were reported missing. He thanked the Alabama Highway Department for their helpful assistance. Dr. Sarah W. Wiggins, editor of *The Alabama Review*, reported that the new schedule requiring that material be submitted six months in advance has enabled the membership to receive the last two issues of the journal on time. The membership list will be published in the January issue. She asked for copies of papers read at the annual meeting and expressed appreciation for the assistance of the editorial board members: Dr. Harriet E. Amos of The University of Alabama at Birmingham, Dr. J. Mills Thornton III of the University of Michigan, Dr. Betty Brandon of the University of South Alabama, Dr. Grace Hooten Gates, Dr. Kenneth R. Johnson, and Dr. Robert R. Rea. President Fuller thanked Dr. Wiggins for her splendid job in editing the *Review* and recognized also the assistance of Malcolm MacDonald and the staff of The University of Alabama Press.

Dr. Edwin C. Bridges thanked the group for the contribution to the Friends of the Alabama Archives and re-

ported that the amount of \$450,000 has been generated in funds and outside grant money. William H. Davidson, chairman of the Time and Place Committee, recommended Mobile for the 1986 annual meeting, a suggestion that the group received enthusiastically.

Judge C. J. Coley on behalf of the Nominating Committee submitted the list of officers for 1985–1986: James R. Kuykendall, president; Dr. Leah R. Atkins, vice-president; James F. Sulzby, Jr., secretary; and Mrs. Miriam C. Jones, treasurer. New members of the Executive Committee are Dr. Samuel N. Stayer of Birmingham-Southern College, S. Wallace Harper of Demopolis, Dr. Kenneth R. Johnson, Dr. William D. Barnard, Marvin L. Harper, and Dr. David T. Morgan.

Following the business session the group adjourned to St. Paul's Episcopal Church for the program sessions. At Session "A" Dr. Tennant S. McWilliams presided. Mary Louise Ellis, a doctoral student at Florida State University, read the paper "Improbable Visitor: Oscar Wilde's Tour of Alabama, 1882." The twenty-seven-year-old Irish ascetic was already visiting the United States when he was invited to come to Alabama, where he packed the houses in Mobile and Montgomery. His eccentric costumes caused a stir, but Alabamians approved when Wilde proclaimed his devotion to Jefferson Davis and likened the Southern cause to the Irish struggle. Dr. Paul A. Spence of The University of Alabama at Birmingham discussed "Used Book Catalogues—Their Historical Uses," relating the kind of information found in publishers' catalogs as distinguished from auction catalogs and dealers' catalogs. Mrs. Tommie Harrison of Alabaster discussed "Shelby, A County Showered with Historical Publications." Although Shelby has had many publications, especially local histories of towns, Mrs. Harrison found that no comprehensive history has been written of the county as a whole.

L. Wayne Johnson of Huntsville presided in Session "B."

He introduced David Smithweck of Mobile, who read a paper entitled "Mobile Medallions," which surveyed the origins of the many medallions or doubloons issued during Mobile's Mardi Gras. Included was the history of the ball coins distributed by nonparading groups as well as the origins of doubloons tossed from parade floats. Edward R. Crowther of Judson College discussed "Baptist Education in Antebellum Marion: Community Support and Consensus." The seat of Perry County, Marion, was the location of two pre-Civil War Baptist schools, founded at a time when many institutions were collapsing. The two schools exist today as Judson College and Samford University because of support from both the Baptists and the Marion townsfolk. Dr. Peter F. Barty read a paper entitled "The Presbyterian Church in Alabama: Union and Division." He noted that throughout its history in Alabama Presbyterianism has been rent with division, first by geography, then over the issue of slavery. Although partially healed in 1883, the schism was not ended until June 1983.

In Session "C" Yates Simonson of Bayou La Batre presided. The first speaker was Dr. W. Robert Houston of the University of South Alabama, whose paper was entitled "Silent Wings Over Mobile: Brookley Field as a Glider Pilot Training Center in World War II—A Little-Known Aspect of Mobile's Past." He examined the role of the glider in military aviation from 1939 to 1945, specifically why Brookley Field was chosen as a training center and what was its impact on the Mobile community. Although he concluded that the impact was minimal, interest in the project persists with current efforts underway to create a glider pilot museum in Mobile. Dr. Marlene Hunt Rikard of Samford University discussed "Lloyd Noland and TCI's Health Program." She related how the president of TCI invited Dr. Noland to head a new department of health for the company. Health conditions in 1912 in Birmingham, where

employees suffered high incidences of malaria and typhoid, resembled those in the Panama Canal Zone, where Noland had worked. Through his centralizing work TCI employees' health care greatly improved. Dr. Mary Martha Thomas of Jacksonville State University presented a study, "Rosie the Alabama Riveter: Women Defense Workers during World War II." She assessed the wartime recruiting practices and hiring of women in the Mobile shipyards, the Mobile Air Command, and various ordnance centers in the state. Although in the public image women's talents were perceived to be in homemaking, patriotic reasons encouraged females to step out of their role "for the duration" to help the war effort.

The annual luncheon convened at 12:30 p.m. at the Selma Convention Center with the Honorable Chriss H. Doss, immediate past president of the Association, presiding. The luncheon committee members, Judge and Mrs. Bernard A. Reynolds, Mrs. Alice M. Wilkinson, and Mrs. John H. Joyce, handled the arrangements. James R. Kuykendall offered thanks for the meal. Mr. Doss introduced those at the head table: President Fuller, Mr. and Mrs. Kuykendall, Judge and Mrs. Coley, Dr. Robert R. Rea, and Dr. Sarah W. Wiggins. Judge Coley presented the newly elected officers and the new members of the Executive Committee. Dr. Rea, a past president of the Association, introduced Dr. Justin Fuller for his presidential address.

Before beginning his paper, President Fuller paid special tribute to his wife, Joyce, unable to attend because of illness, for her constant assistance, not only in the affairs of the Association but also in editing his address, "Henry F. DeBardeleben—Industrialist of the New South." Dr. Fuller pictured DeBardeleben as the epitome of New South industrialists of the 1880s and 1890s and a dominant figure in the development of Alabama's iron industry. He stepped

into that heritage when he married the only child of Daniel Pratt. Later, DeBardeleben acquired the most promising iron ore land in Jefferson County and organized the Pratt Coal and Coke Company, ultimately to sell his holdings for \$600,000 to the Ensley interests in 1881. Ensley merged with TCI only to face a new challenge from DeBardeleben when he decided to create a rival for Birmingham: Bessemer. DeBardeleben made and lost several fortunes before his death in 1910 at age seventy. "He looked on life as one big game of poker," and although he was a controversial figure, he was a creator and a builder—of furnaces, mines, towns, and jobs.

The Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Alabama Historical Association adjourned at 2:00 P.M. Saturday, April 27, 1985. The Association is indebted to the program chairman, Dr. Lee N. Allen, for his work in preparing for a diverse and interesting group of papers, and to the Selma General Arrangements Committee, who extended such magnificent hospitality throughout the three-day meeting. In addition to cochairmen Carl C. Morgan, Jr., Mrs. Elise Blackwell, and Mrs. Betty Callaway, and those mentioned elsewhere in specific capacities, others assisting included Mrs. Deans E. Barber, Mrs. Hallie Childers, Sam Earle Hobbs, Catesby ap C. Jones, and Mrs. Kathryn T. Windham.

Notes and Documents

HIGHWAY MARKERS IN ALABAMA

KENNETH R. JOHNSON

Marker texts were published in *The Alabama Review* in January and April 1961, October 1964, January 1965, October 1966, January 1969, July 1972, October 1973, April and July 1978, October 1979, October 1980, October 1981, October 1982, October 1983, and October 1984. The texts of markers erected since these listings include:

SHELBY COUNTY

CONFEDERATE FORTS

Near this site are the remains of three forts built in 1863 by Confederate troops under the command of Major W. T. Walthall, commander of the military post at Talladega. The forts, built for protection of the Alabama–Tennessee River Railroad trestles across the Coosa River and Yellow Leaf Creek, were manned during the last months of the war by reserve companies consisting of young boys and old men. Barbieri's Reserve Cavalry was stationed here in February 1865. Union troops, commanded by General James H. Wilson captured the forts in March 1865.

TUSCALOOSA COUNTY

BETHANY BAPTIST CHURCH

Constituted 28 Dec. 1832 by Elders Thomas Baines (ancestor of President Lyndon B. Johnson), Holland W. Middleton and Medey White, first Pastor. First Deacons were Henry Fox, Thomas Fox and David Denton. One of 13 churches organizing Tuscaloosa Baptist Asso. in 1834. Bethabera Church was organized as a mission in 1843. Rev.

Basil Manley, Second President of University of Ala., often filled the pulpit. He donated a Bible and a set of hymn books in 1851. First two buildings were of log, on land donated by Jesse Hughes in 1838. Present site acquired 1883. Present building constructed 1953.

BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH

Organized May 10, 1834, as Buck Creek Baptist Church. Presiding Clergy: Robert Marsh, Medey White, Thomas Norris and Job Wilson. Building erected in 1836 and renamed Bethel Baptist Church. Larger structure erected 1907. Destroyed by lightning and rebuilt in 1877. In 1890 Mary Jane Thornton from Bethel was the first Baptist missionary from Tuscaloosa County. Served with Lottie Moon in the China Mission. Gov. Lurleen Burns Wallace, as a youth, attended Bethel Church. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Morgan Burns, are buried in the Bethel Cemetery. Marker unveiled April 29, 1984.

Annual Report of the Treasurer

ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

March 1984–March 1985

MIRIAM C. JONES

Balance, March 31, 1984	\$18,983.53
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Receipts:

Dues	\$14,704.00	
Registration Fees	3,594.00	
Interest	3,441.05	
Marker Fund	4,350.00	
Transfer from Savings	5,000.00	
Transfer from Kemper Fund	4,000.00	
Miscellaneous	<u>10.00</u>	
Total Receipts		<u>35,099.05</u>
		\$54,082.58

Disbursements:

Operating Expenses		
Accounting	125.00	
Committee Meeting	209.24	
Postage & Mailing	990.92	
Printing	340.67	
Stationery & Supplies	311.30	
Travel	118.20	
Bank service charge	144.80	
Secretarial Assistance	82.00	
Miscellaneous	<u>49.18</u>	2,371.31

Alabama Review:

University of Alabama Press	9,379.35	
Honorarium	<u>800.00</u>	10,179.35

Annual Meeting

Reception	817.42	
Meals	2,948.46	
Programs	<u>828.75</u>	4,594.63

Pilgrimage	408.32	
Bronze Plaque	354.00	
Markers	3,650.00	
Refund	875.00	
Purchase of Certificate of Deposit	5,000.00	
Transfer to Kemper Fund	10,000.00	
Gift to Friends of Archives	<u>5,000.00</u>	25,287.32
Total Disbursements		<u>42,432.61</u>

Balance, March 31, 1985		<u>42,432.61</u>	<u>\$11,649.97</u>
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CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSITS & INVESTMENTS

Balance, March 31, 1984		31,645.02
Receipts:		
Transfer from checking account	6,000.00	
Interest	1,293.64	<u>7,293.64</u>
Balance, March 31, 1985		<u>\$38,938.66</u>

Memo: The Alabama Historical Association had accounts payable in the amount of \$1,731.61, which were not included in the above report.

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AWARD

April 26, 1985

IS PRESENTED TO

COOSA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



This annual award honoring a local historical organization in the state of Alabama is made in recognition of outstanding achievement and significant contribution to a greater appreciation of the history of the community and the state. The award reflects the Alabama Historical Association's continuing interest in and support of historical activity at the state and local levels.

News, Notices, and Book Notes

History of First United Methodist Church, Florence, Alabama 1822–1984, by William Lindsey McDonald, has been published. It traces pioneers across the Alleghenies to the Muscle Shoals and tells a dramatic story of the development of the Methodist church in frontier north Alabama. The author uses old diaries to paint colorful pictures of lifestyles in the area and tells inspiring stories about the leaders and ministers throughout the church's 162 years of history. The price of the book is \$11.00 including postage. Address orders to Mrs. Betty Morrow, First United Methodist Church, 415 North Seminary Street, Florence, Alabama 35630, and make checks payable to First United Methodist Church, Florence.

The University of Alabama Press has published *Alabama's State and Local Governments*, second edition, by David L. Martin. The book provides an overview of the operation of state and local government in Alabama. This edition reflects the numerous recent changes in the political process in the state. The volume is especially directed toward students and includes definitions of terms and concepts. The cost is \$26.50 (cloth), \$12.50 (paper).

Membership of the Alabama Historical Association

By counties and states, June 14, 1985

AUTAUGA

Robert P. Cly, 103 Colonial Court, Prattville
Mrs. R. A. Dobbs, 615 Marlyn Dr., Prattville
Mrs. Sandra H. Harvey, P.O. Box 487, Prattville
Gaylon Hefner, P.O. Box 27, Prattville
R. H. Kirkpatrick, Rt. 2, Box 417A, Prattville
Loxie M. Musgrove, 160 West Main St., Prattville
Mrs. William A. Newby, Box 356, Prattville
Mrs. Mary Anne Rogers, 104 Melmar Dr., Prattville
Jimmy White, P.O. Box 381, Prattville
Miss Aline Wyatt, 139 Beth Manor Dr., Prattville

BALDWIN

Mrs. Leonard E. Bayer, Rt. 2, Box 10, Fairhope
Cameron A. Bryars, 564 Stuart St., Daphne
Miss Velvo C. Chaney, Rt. 3, Box 1351, Foley
Mrs. James F. Currie, Jr., 1310 Rosalind Ave., Bay Minette
Emanuel Davidson, P.O. Box 238, Bay Minette
Mrs. Frank Earle, Star Rt., Box 104, Bay Minette
Mrs. Thomas J. Earle, Star Rt., Box 103, Bay Minette
I. J. Gamble, 210 E. 10th St., Bay Minette
Julia J. Griffin, St. Route B, Box 1076, Orange Beach
Carl Hixon, P.O. Box 437, Stockton
Mrs. Regina Moreno Mandrell, P.O. Drawer A-M, Fairhope
Mrs. Woodrow W. Moulton, P.O. Box 608, Gulf Shores
L. D. Owen, Jr., P.O. Box 45, Bay Minette
J. Conner Owens, Jr., 107 W. 11th St., Bay Minette
Mrs. Robert E. Swift, P.O. Box 75, Loxley

BARBOUR

Miss Virginia B. Coyner, 227 Sanford St., Apt. 2, Eufaula
L. Y. Dean III, 525 N. Eufaula St., Eufaula
Eufaula Heritage Association, Inc., 340 N. Eufaula Ave., Eufaula
Mrs. Louella Hobbs, P.O. Box 453, Clayton
Gorman Houston, Jr., P.O. Box 14, Eufaula
Dr. Alto L. Jackson, 146 Brundidge St., Clio
Mrs. Ruth Jennings, 300 N. Randolph Ave., Eufaula
James R. Kessler, P.O. Box 504, Clayton
Douglas Clare Purcell, P.O. Box 33, Eufaula
Mrs. Florence Foy Strang, P.O. Box 77, Eufaula
Charles L. Weston, 101 Rosemont Dr., Clayton

BIBB

Jack E. Crouch, P.O. Box 463, Centreville
Fred L. Daws, Box 73, Centreville
Mrs. Julia M. Hallman, 102 Ridgcrest Rd., Centreville
Mrs. Josiah Kennedy, P.O. Box 98, Centreville
William T. Ogletree, 182 First St. N., Centreville
James D. Seaman, Rt. 1, Box 241, Brierfield

BLOUNT

Jack Clay, Rt. 3, Box 12, Hayden
Mrs. Jack Cornelius, P.O. Box 190, Blountsville
Mrs. H. C. Gunter, Rt. 4, Box 258, Oneonta
Mrs. Grady Harris, 802 Springville Blvd., Oneonta
Dr. Troy F. Kilpatrick, P.O. Box 130, Oneonta
Mrs. C. Y. Linder, Cherry Hill Farm, RFD 4, Oneonta

Mrs. Eugene A. Maynor, RFD 4, Oneonta
 E. E. Nash, Rt. 1, Box 151-B, Blountsville
 William R. Steele, 516 Fifth Ave. E.,
 Oneonta
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Book Reviews

Women of Fair Hope. By Paul M. Gaston. Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, No. 25. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1984. xiv, 143 pp. \$13.50.

Fairhope, Alabama, established in 1894 as an experiment in social justice based on modification of Henry George's single tax concept, has awaited a gifted historian to interpret its compelling story. Paul M. Gaston, from his distinctive perspective of participant-observer, has accepted the challenge and in this slender, engaging volume offers a preview of his forthcoming comprehensive study of his native community. Grandson of Fairhope's founding leader and son of a longtime colony official, Gaston skillfully blends the qualities of personal involvement and scholarly detachment in his inquiry.

Women of Fair Hope, an artfully entitled expanded version of the author's 1981 lectures presented at Mercer University, focuses on extraordinary performances by women in the Fairhope drama. Three absorbing essays reflect their multifaceted roles and reveal the ironies, compromises, inconsistencies, and, above all, the endurance of the venture in "cooperative individualism" (p. 5). Profiles of three highly disparate figures from the community's formative period explore the status of women and the colony's principles.

"The Discovery of Nancy Lewis" employs the federal census, the minutes of the Fairhope Industrial Association, county tax and real estate records, memories of a granddaughter, and verification from the family Bible to reconstruct the affecting episode of the black woman whose land the colony acquired early in its existence. Her forced exclusion from the colony reaffirmed the racial dilemma that even reformers failed to resolve. In spite of imaginative use of untraditional materials, the chapter is only a vignette interspersed with a narrative of Fairhope's origins and the motives of the first settlers. Nancy Lewis, consigned to the periphery even after she secured title to another homestead unclaimed by the colony, remains elusive and faintly perceptible. Thoughtful speculation provides glimpses of her but cannot compensate for source limitations.

Intensely luminous portraits emerge in "The Odyssey of Marie Howland" and "The Mission of Marietta Johnson." Linked by bonds of chronology and friendship, Howland and Johnson shaped Fairhope institutions; Howland initiated the public library in 1900, and in 1907 Johnson opened the School of Organic Education to encourage natural educational growth. Howland encountered Fairhope at the culmination of her flamboyant life spent in defiance of convention and in

promotion of reform. Versatile and idiosyncratic, she personified the "individualism" of the Fairhope plan. Gaston expertly compresses her far-reaching, turbulent career as social critic, novelist, and material feminist before she arrived in Fairhope where she instructed the colonists on women's rights and contributed to the newspaper, the *Courier*. From 1899 until her death in 1921 she assaulted complacency, contested conformity, and immeasurably enriched the community by her animated presence. Gaston has vividly captured her indomitable spirit and has illustrated the need for a definitive biography of an intriguing person.

Marietta Johnson's Fairhope experience was the crucial foundation for her remarkable activities in the field of education, and all reports confirm her charismatic power in the community. Her inspiring personality far transcended her originality as an educator, but for thirty years she crusaded for organic education, an unorthodox program that minimized student competition and achieved national and international recognition. Gaston empathetically describes her driving ambition and relentless commitment to children's unrestricted development while he acknowledges the ambiguities in her ideas.

To document his gracefully written essays, Gaston informatively annotated his evidence obtained from the colony archives, newspaper files, secondary references, and especially valuable oral interviews with surviving residents of Fairhope. As an interviewer, he displays discerning sensitivity, another advantage of his identification with the topic. Each sketch closes with a quotation from a contemporary of the subject rather than a conclusive evaluation. An epilogue that integrated the complementary and disparate features of the three women would clarify their significance in the community and the community's relation to the outside society. Gaston alludes to psychological tensions suffered by Howland, Johnson, and other Fairhope associates (p. 114); a final section could profitably elaborate on common themes.

Skeptics will question Fairhope's "utopian" classification, even in quotation marks (p. 1). The label seems inappropriate for the pragmatic, flexible community. The distance Fairhoppers placed between themselves and utopian visions perhaps accounts for the colony's longevity, but Gaston may silence the criticism with his detailed investigation. An enthusiastic audience anticipates the publication of the work and meanwhile can derive pleasure and intellectual reward from these admirable preliminary essays.

BETTY BRANDON
University of South Alabama

Kith and Kin: A Portrait of a Southern Family, 1630–1934. By Carolyn L. Harrell. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1984. vi, 331 pp. \$24.95.

Kith and Kin is a very personal book. It is Carolyn L. Harrell's reconstruction of the world of her American ancestors, most of whom lived in South Carolina or Georgia. Eleven chapters present sketches of members of the various branches of her family tree, the Furmans, Barnwells, Willinghams, Roberts, Gутtenbergers, Nottinghams, and especially the Lawtons. These are more minibiographies than genealogies; however, they are somewhat disconnected, tend to focus upon her direct line of descent, and pay only scant attention to collateral branches. Although Harrell depicts families from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, the majority of her chapters—seven—focus primarily on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These are her most successful. While her colonial forebears emerge primarily as public men and their wives as shadowy figures, she draws a fuller picture of later social and family life. Her accounts of how various ancestors such as the Lawtons relied upon family ties in their business ventures and depended upon the extended family in times of economic hardship are revealing.

Although Harrell has read much Southern history she does not venture into the new field of family history. This failure is unfortunate, for an acquaintance with some of these studies—either of individual families over time or of families collectively—could have provided a wider context for her findings and some themes that would have made them useful to a larger audience. Despite the author's careful, accurate research on her own family, some errors of historical fact also remain. For example, the 1850s were boom rather than depression years for Macon, Georgia (p. 89), and Dr. Spock had not written his famous advice book by 1934. Still, *Kith and Kin* will interest those wishing to learn more about Macon and its educational institutions of Mercer University and Wesleyan College, wealthy Baptists of the South Carolina low country, or the specific families studied.

JANE TURNER CENSER
The Frederick Law Olmsted Papers

A Pictorial History of The University of Georgia. By F. N. Boney. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1984. ix, 262 pp. \$27.50.

The Georgia legislature, stimulated by the liberalism of the American Revolution, approved a charter for a state university on January 25, 1785, thus making the University of Georgia the very first state-chartered university in the nation. Those interested in nineteenth-century Southern higher education have always gone to A. L. Hull's *A Historical Sketch of the University of Georgia* (1894) and E. Merton Coulter's *College Life in the Old South* (1928), an interesting story of the University of Georgia. Nash Boney's new pictorial history must now be added to that list. Carefully selected black-and-white photographs are scattered throughout the narrative. Although this book is not intended to be a scholarly and thorough account of the history of the university, it nonetheless covers major developments.

For half of the university's first century its presidents were ministers, mostly Presbyterian, and there was a definite New England and Yale University influence. Students were as rowdy and unruly at Georgia as they were elsewhere in the antebellum South. The university had numerous alumni in leadership positions in the Confederacy, including Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, and Alexander H. Stephens. War and Reconstruction brought hard times, but the creation in 1872 of the Georgia State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts as a land grant college under the arm of the University of Georgia provided federal funds that kept the institution alive, since the legislature refused to appropriate sufficient monies. Successive University of Georgia administrations followed a policy of channeling these funds, which represented over one-half the total revenues of the university, into the general university and not the agricultural college. In the late 1890s threats of a legislative investigation and suggestions that a land grant college independent from the state university (like Auburn and Clemson) should be established, forced the university to change its fund distribution. By the administration of President Andrew M. Soule in 1907 the Georgia State College of Agriculture was moving ahead and was sponsoring a "College of Wheels," similar to programs that had been used for over two decades at Auburn University and Tuskegee Institute. Some rivalry remained between the two branches of the university, a competition no doubt improved by the construction in 1928 of Sanford Stadium in a wooded valley between the campuses.

Boney briefly covers the growth of the university in the twentieth century. Women were admitted in 1918 and blacks in 1961. State fund-

ing improved, World War II stimulated growth, and soon the University of Georgia was recognized for its academic programs as well as for its athletic successes. This pictorial history of a Southern university will be interesting reading for those who wish to know more about the University of Georgia and for those who wish to compare the developments in higher education in Georgia with those in Alabama.

LEAH RAWLS ATKINS
Auburn University

North Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1800–1860. By Jane Turner Censer. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984. xxviii, 191 pp. \$20.00.

In this latest of a number of works that have been published recently on family life in the antebellum South, Jane Turner Censer has chosen wisely to concentrate on a well-defined group, wealthy North Carolina planters. She first listed the 181 holders of seventy or more slaves in any North Carolina county according to the census of 1830. The group to be studied was then reduced by eliminating childless planters, those who represented other owners, those who moved from the state, and those who owned seventy slaves in more than one county. By examining manuscripts, church records, newspapers, genealogies, wills, deeds, and estate inventories, Censer has discovered much about the remaining 124 slaveholders' conduct toward their children. The research, like the author's selection of a topic, is excellent.

Censer's fathers and mothers, far from being the authoritarian and indifferent beings that some have pictured, were, instead, loving and companionable guides. Parents joyfully anticipated the arrival of newborns, grieved deeply when they failed to survive, and often lavished the very young with presents. Slave nurses served primarily as babysitters, not as mother substitutes. Parents, concerned about the education of both sons and daughters, insisted that their offspring study in school to develop self-control and to acquire academic learning, not just social skills and contacts. When children reached their late teens, mothers and fathers urged them to accept traditional communal values and gave them sympathetic rather than cold and imperious advice. Adults encouraged their young to become independent and self-sufficient members of the Southern elite rather than trying to subject them to permanent mastery. Parents attempted to influence, but not to dictate, their grown children's choices of spouses and professions, lent them money and gave them land and slaves, aided them during sickness or

other troubles, and behaved generally as today's concerned parents are supposed to conduct themselves.

Although the primary focus always remains on parental actions, Censer also provides evidence on other aspects of planter life. She agrees with James Oakes and others that they were eager to make money. Also, in one of the most balanced and convincing discussions of the topic, she demonstrates that planters rationally and cautiously weighed such considerations as climate and land productivity before deciding to move West. Many more thought of going than went. The portrayal is not, however, a totally positive one. These North Carolinians were as indifferent to the welfare of their slaves as they were concerned about their children's growth and happiness. All in all, nonetheless, they shared the economic and affective values of nineteenth-century Northerners.

How convincing is the author's primary argument that planters were first-rate parents? Certainly, Censer's conclusions differ drastically from those who have seen Southern adults, especially fathers, as attempting to dominate all within their range. On the other hand, her views complement many of those of Carl Degler, Daniel Blake Smith, and Jan Lewis, and also of Ann Williams Boucher in her as yet unpublished dissertation on Alabama planter families. Clear norms on which all can agree may never emerge. Planters may have differed from one another as greatly in their treatment of their children as they did in the treatment of their slaves. Also, the wealthiest planters—the group Censer studies—may have felt more secure than their economic inferiors and therefore have been less eager to force others to carry out the dictates of their wills. Of all the book's provocative interpretations, the argument that the emergence of the sentimental child-centered family was not dependent on the arrival of industrialization is the most convincing. As for the others, if one is to accept historical generalizations because they are derived from thorough research and exceptional methodology, then Censer's conclusions must be taken very seriously indeed.

FREDERICK M. HEATH
Winthrop College

Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War. By Frank L. Klement. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xi, 263 pp. \$25.00.

"Dark lantern societies," says Frank Klement, was a term commonly applied in the 1850s and 1860s to secret political organizations like the

Knights of the Golden Circle and the Union Leagues. His book examines these two societies together with the Order of American Knights and the Sons of Liberty as they existed in the North during the Civil War. The Union Leagues supported the Union war effort, the Lincoln administration, and the Republican party. They were found throughout the North and moved South in the wake of the Union Army. The other three orders, however, were Copperhead societies opposed to the war, comprising the most extreme element of the peace wing of the Democratic party. They were primarily a Midwestern phenomenon, and the larger part of Klement's book relates to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This study, as he points out, is an extension of his earlier work on Northern Copperheadism.

In an exhaustive treatment Klement amply demonstrates his central thesis, that these organizations were tiny, weak, inactive, and insignificant but that their importance was deliberately exaggerated by Republicans, especially at election times, to discredit the Democrats. The parallel with the McCarthyism of the 1950s is so patent that Wisconsin historian Klement occasions surprise by not pointing it out. Except for Clement L. Vallandigham, whose membership was peripheral, the societies comprised hardly more than a handful of men on the radical fringe of the Democratic party who lacked political influence or credibility. Their treasonable plots were largely figments of Republican imaginations, although various suspects were convicted by special military courts acting under strong political influences. Their sentences were remanded or lightened after the war. In one case, that of Lambdin P. Milligan of Indiana, the United States Supreme Court subsequently repudiated the holding of military tribunals in places where the civil courts were functioning unimpeded.

Having argued his central case so successfully, Klement may be forgiven for a tendency to exaggerate its novelty. He demonstrates that some historians have taken the secret Copperhead orders too seriously (as did Confederate authorities and agents in the South and Canada). But the fault did not extend (for instance) to the textbook accounts by James G. Randall and David Donald and James M. McPherson or to the work of T. Harry Williams, to whom Klement dedicates this book.

ALLEN W. TRELEASE
*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism and Race in Louisiana, 1862–1877. By Ted Tunnell. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984. xi, 257 pp. \$25.00.

The North won the Civil War, but the South won Reconstruction, certainly at least in Louisiana. In a perceptive new monograph Ted Tunnell has cut through the “byzantine” political history of what has been called the northern-most of the banana republics to provide a clear account of the rise and fall of the Louisiana Radicals, advancing through the swamp of party faction and political maneuver with a certain clarity and precision.

Although the author covers the entire period of Louisiana Reconstruction history (1862–1877), this book is not a general survey of the subject. For that, readers need to consult Joe Gray Taylor's *Louisiana Reconstructed*. Rather, Tunnell seeks to identify the black and white Radicals and their “solution” to the issues of the day. In doing so, the author attempts to answer some important questions: What were Lincoln's objectives with regard to wartime and postwar Louisiana? Who were the Southern Unionists (scalawags)? Why did they side with the North in the face of the sullen, determined hostility of their friends and neighbors? How powerful were the Northern newcomers (carpetbaggers)? What explains their rise to power? How and for what ends did they use that power? What role did the black elite (creoles) play? And what was their relationship to the dark-skinned black masses? Finally, what explains the defeat of the Radicals and the utter failure of the first Reconstruction in Louisiana?

Historians will find Tunnell's answers to these questions both fascinating and provocative. The author contends, for example, that Lincoln was not “overly concerned” with the postwar South in general or postwar Louisiana in particular. Wherever the president may have stood on the issues concerning the restoration of civil government or black rights, these were clearly subordinate to his principal objective—victory over the Confederacy. Thus, Lincoln's wartime plan should not be viewed as a “prescription for the postwar South.” Some historians will, no doubt, take strong exception to this interpretation.

Nevertheless, the most important of these separate but interconnected essays deal with the Radical experiment itself. Here Tunnell makes his most important contributions. The Louisiana Radicals, he argues, were few in number and divided in purpose. Neither the white leaders, scalawag or carpetbagger, nor the black elite provided decisive and forward-looking leadership. The whole Radical movement was soft

at the core. The Republicans lacked the courage of their convictions and "true political will." Their enemies, on the other hand, possessed a unity of purpose and solidarity of action that gradually eroded and then destroyed racial democracy in Louisiana. The Republicans had no popular white support. The evidence indicates that only a tiny fraction of white Louisianians allied with the Republican movement during the Reconstruction era. It was black votes and bayonets that kept the Radical party in power in Louisiana. Located primarily in New Orleans, the Republican leaders exercised little control in the countryside. They were, in effect, a frail cockboat of elitists bobbing precariously on a sea of political unrest.

White Republican leaders hovered uncertainly between a policy of conciliation toward the ex-rebels and a policy of armed resistance to the forces of reaction. Unable and unwilling to take decisive action, Radical leaders became involved in self-destructive factional wars over ends and means. Ultimately, the author writes, "Reconstruction failed on the lower Mississippi mainly because Louisiana whites believed more devoutly in white supremacy than the Radicals believed in the rights of man." The white Radical leaders refused to tap the powerful undercurrent of black power in the state and "often acted as if they preferred a White League victory to the consequences of successful black resistance." Tunnell concludes his study with the story of Marshall Harvey Twitchell, a Vermont-born Radical. Here we see the carpetbagger as the archetypical Louisiana Radical. Horribly mutilated in a terrorist attack, he ended his career outside the state. In this dramatic story, the author sees the tragic failure of Louisiana Reconstruction personified.

FRANK J. WETTA
Galveston College

The Road to Redemption: Southern Politics, 1869-1879. By Michael Perman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984. xiv, 353 pp. \$32.00.

The old simplistic view of Reconstruction containing familiar stereotypes, traitorous scalawags, avaricious carpetbaggers, noble klansmen, and their ilk is buried more deeply with the publication of almost every book by modern Reconstruction scholarship. Michael Perman's *The Road to Redemption* tosses more than a spadeful of earth on the myth's well-deserved resting place and provides scant comfort for those who

might ghoulishly wish to participate in a resurrection. Unfortunately, the more prosaic image that emerges is unlikely to attract a popular novelist like Margaret Mitchell or Thomas Dixon and may, because of its complexity, have some difficulty in penetrating the thick defenses of the simple-minded. Perman's picture of the Reconstruction South reveals a political labyrinth with crosscurrents and conflicting interest groups, but his careful analysis produces a well-marked path for those able to follow.

Professor Perman has already proved to be an excellent guide through the intricacies of Reconstruction in his *Reunion Without Compromise: The South and Reconstruction, 1865-1868* (Cambridge University Press, 1973). While his first book dealt with the more familiar early phase of the era, the new study concentrates on the often neglected years following the election of Grant. To provide a framework for discussion, Perman selects a model of party strategy developed by Austin Ranney in *Curing the Mischief of Faction: Party Reform in America* (University of California Press, 1975). This theory argues that policymakers are faced with two alternative approaches to party function—the "competitive" and the "expressive." In the former mode party strategists attempt to deemphasize political extremes and capture the political "center"; in the latter, politicians stress loyalty, ideology, and consistency at the expense of compromise.

In Perman's view both parties in the South following Grant's election were divided into factions advocating either the "competitive" or "expressive" approach. The Reconstruction struggle in the Southern states becomes, using this analysis, a complicated process involving strife within as well as between the parties. In the first phase, 1868-1872, the competitive factions tended to dominate, while the period 1872-1879 saw politicians' advocating the expressive approach gradually gain complete control. The triumph of extremes in both parties, given the demographic situation and the nearly universal commitment to racism by Southern whites, meant ultimate victory for the "Bourbon" Democrats and the "Redemption" of the South. The result may be summed up more poetically by a quote from William Butler Yeats's "The Second Coming," which Perman uses to introduce one of his chapters, "Things fall apart, the center cannot hold."

Though this incisive explanation seems almost unassailable as a basic description of Southern politics during the era, the attached baggage will cause some controversy among Southern historians and raise a few well-established eyebrows. As with most revisionists, Perman sees the race question—particularly black participation in politics—as central

to any discussion of the period. However, domination by the "Bourbons" produced more than the system of segregation. Their recapture of state governments brought into power men with an agrarian bias who were essentially opposed to governmental aid for industrial development or indeed "active" government at all. It is as if the ghosts of Andrew Jackson's minions, suitably altered by the events of the war years, once again stalked the Southern political landscape. This Jacksonian approach to state government foisted on the South a system ill-suited for an industrial age and helped fix poverty as a way of life for Southerners.

Obviously, such an interpretation runs counter to the ideas of C. Vann Woodward, whose work has become something of a starting point for any discussion of the period. In his *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Louisiana State University Press, 1951) and in numerous other books and articles, Woodward stresses economics and the influence of old Whigs with their pro-business bias in the Redemption process. For him, the new "Whiggish" governments represented a break in the continuity of Southern history and laid the groundwork for the development of the "New South." While it may be premature to consign Woodward's argument to the graveyard of Southern history along with the Dunning school of Reconstruction, Professor Perman's ideas, which concentrate on political rather than economic motivation, should at least provoke a thorough reexamination of the whole period and may go a long way toward explaining why the subsequent "New South" movement failed to usher in an era of prosperity.

DAVID WARREN BOWEN
Livingston University

The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation. By Joel Williamson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. xviii, 561 pp. \$25.00.

This is a more than ordinary book, and it comes close to being a great book. Joel Williamson examines race relations in the South from emancipation, or to be more exact, from about 1850 to the present. In the main he examines race relations from the white point of view. In this work as in others, black people do not *do* so much as *have done to them*. Considering the nature of the sources available, this view is almost inevitable, and the picture that it provides is presumably accurate as far

as it goes. Also inevitable, with this approach, is the feeling that part of the story has not been told.

Williamson sees three "mentalities" (less than philosophies but more than notions) among white Southerners. The rather rare Liberals were strongest, though certainly not strong, in the 1880s and were to reappear again in the third quarter of the twentieth century. The Liberals believed that the possibilities of black development had not been tested and that blacks should be allowed to achieve whatever they were capable of achieving. "Conservatives" never doubted that blacks were inferior but believed that they had a definite "place" in the Southern scheme of things. In general the Conservatives accepted whatever place black people held at any given period of time, and in a paternalistic way they were prepared to defend them in that place. The Conservatives have been on hand always since the Civil War. Finally, there were the "Radicals," dominant from about 1890 to 1915. Radicals believed that the Negro, out of the bonds of slavery, was a savage beast, a chronic rapist who had no place in American society. Presumably, he would be eliminated by his own excesses, but if not he must be destroyed in a race war.

Williamson makes a good case for his thesis, though it could certainly be argued that his Conservatism and his Radicalism have always existed side by side in the South and that the dominance of one or the other at any given time depended upon circumstances, often upon outside circumstances. Thus, a Conservative South could tolerate internal criticism of slavery until outside criticism became strident; then after Reconstruction Bourbon Conservatives could accept the status quo, but attempts at civil rights legislation (such as the Blair Bill, changing economic conditions, and belief in Teutonic superiority, North and South) led to economic Radicalism that, checked, turned to racism.

Williamson makes use of many psychological explanations. For example, he says that in the hard times of the 1890s, white men were frustrated by their inability to play with competence the Victorian role of provider and compensated by rage against the "black beast rapist." Pitchfork Ben Tillman was convinced of the essential savagery of blacks by contact with some of the Africans smuggled in aboard the *Wanderer* and bought by his mother. Thomas Dixon's radicalism was supposedly the result of his conscious or unconscious belief that his mother, married at thirteen, had been in effect sexually violated. How much worse was the violation of pure Southern white women by Negroes who had retrogressed into savagery after being removed from slavery!

One of the most interesting, and in the opinion of this reviewer,

wrong-headed parts of this book are two chapters devoted to "The Souls of Black Folk" and to "White Soul." In these two chapters Williamson argues, first, that W. E. B. DuBois was a Hegelian idealist. This assertion requires some brisk reasoning, and Williamson never adequately reconciles his conclusion with the Marxism of *Black Reconstruction*. Even more astonishing, however, is the transformation into Hegelians, conscious or unconscious, of Edgar Gardner Murphy, Broadus Mitchell, and other spokesmen for the best of the New South. He even goes so far as to make Ellen Glasgow and William Faulkner into Volkgeistion conservatives cum idealists.

This work is marred by a number of errors that the author should not have made and that the publisher's readers should have caught and corrected. He interprets the post-Civil War sharecropping economy as a breakup of the plantation system (p. 46). He confuses Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines (p. 54), and he apparently believes that the lynching of black men in the South was primarily for rape or attempted rape (pp. 116-18). He speaks of Edward Douglas White's having been a "Klansman in his youth," and there was no Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana during Reconstruction. At the most White was a member of the White League, which was a very different thing (p. 176). The Brooks-Baxter War in Reconstruction Arkansas was not an attempt to crush the Klan, as stated here, but rather an armed struggle between two Republican factions (p. 179). William Gibbs McAdoo is referred to as the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1924 (p. 283), and, horror of horrors, Lord Acton's dictum concerning the corrupting effects of power is attributed to Thomas Jefferson (p. 286). We are told that after emancipation, "white men's access to black women virtually ended" (p. 307) and that the city of Rome was sacked "repeatedly, almost at will" by barbarians (actually only twice, once by Visigoths, once by Vandals) (p. 313). Most readers would maintain that Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* is far more than "an indictment of the sexual exploitation of mulatto women by southern white men of the elite class" (p. 489). Finally, despite the assertion at least three times that Tulane University at New Orleans was a Methodist school (pp. 273, 276, 451), it never was.

Having said all this, let the reviewer say again that this is a good book and that it could have been a great book. It provides an imaginative and generally improved framework of interpretation for the history of race relations. It is a strong corrective to attempted interpretations of Southern history based upon class, whatever that is. In a somewhat round-about but nonetheless decisive way it supports Ulrich B. Phillips's "Central Theme" theory of Southern history. Furthermore, the writing

is superb. The author says what he has to say clearly and directly. He makes use of vivid and impressive metaphors to make his points, and he uses well-known works of Southern literature with great skill. He even makes good use of allegory in comparing Southern attitudes toward race relations to the schizoid personality described in *The Three Faces of Eve*. This book belongs on the shelf of every serious student of Southern history, but the student must be careful to use it for what it is, an interpretation, not as a definitive chronicle.

JOE GRAY TAYLOR
McNeese State University

The Greening of the South. By Thomas D. Clark. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984. xii, 168 pp. \$20.00.

All too often historians deal only with their own narrow specialty, ignoring either by design or neglect the larger historical implications of the question under study. Further, our style is generally less than literary. Out of this morass occasionally comes a well-written study with broad implications for historical study; Tom Clark's *The Greening of the South* is such a study.

One of the twentieth century's premier historians, Clark writes with verve and dedication. The book's subtitle, "The Recovery of Land and Forest," sums up his thesis: the South moved from a cotton-based economy where trees were only a detriment, through an economy where silviculture provided a safety valve, to the present where pulp and wood products represent one of the leading sources of income.

Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries settlers failed to see the importance of forests and their place in the American environment and economy. To cite one statistic, twenty million acres (an area approximately two-thirds the size of Alabama) of primeval forest were wasted prior to 1920. Waste came from profligate use of raw materials—at the turn of the century sawmills wasted approximately ten percent. Additional losses came from new machines that, in getting logs out of the woods, destroyed much of the forest. "Never in American economic history was an industry more prodigal in handling precious raw materials than were the southern lumber mills" (p. 32). At the same time, however, "the great mills produced an immense volume that may never again be equalled in quality and beauty" (p. 35).

The late nineteenth century saw the rise of scientific forestry, with figures like Charles T. Mohr, George Washington Vanderbilt, Gifford Pinchot, and Carl Alwin Schenck in the forefront. As late as 1880, when the federal census included Mohr's survey of Southern pinelands, all but Virginia and Texas remained heavily covered with primeval forests. The rapid growth of logging as a second industry virtually eliminated all such forests within two generations.

Clark argues persuasively that "in some fashion every major social problem in the South had grown out of the land and its mismanagement" (p. 73). Because of the forest destruction, erosion was a major problem. Hugh H. Bennett found continuous erosion from Birmingham, Alabama, to Bristol, Tennessee.

Reforms in land use and silviculture, plus new technology expanding the use of loblolly pines, improved the picture for the South. Charles Herty, professor of chemistry at the University of North Carolina, "contended that the pine tree could become the source of economic redemption for the South" (p. 104). Alabama, one of the leading producers of wood and wood products, earned \$645,000,000 on cord wood alone in 1974. Throughout the South major wood and paper companies opened offices, plants, and nurseries for reforestation.

The Greening of the South is history at its best. Blending facts, statistics, and personal reminiscences, Clark had produced a beautifully written work of social and economic history. Anyone interested in the South's people and economy will find this book a boon.

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The Martial Metropolis: U.S. Cities in War and Peace. Edited by Roger W. Lotchin. New York: Praeger, 1984. xiii, 242 pp. \$26.95.

The American city as arsenal is the theme of this expeditionary new work from urban historian Roger Lotchin and ten lieutenants, most of them from the same company of scholars. Although the book does not include specific material on Alabama cities, it should cause those interested in this state's recent development to reflect on the Pentagon's contributions to local growth and lifestyle.

Collectively, the authors assert that civic leadership, more of it from chambers of commerce than from city halls, was crucial to the acquisi-

tion and retention of military installations and defense industries. Since many locales could meet basic operational requirements, often involving land spaces and pleasant climates, municipal offensives meant the difference between success and failure. To the writers, the roles played by business and often congressional leaders were vital. No amount of wide-open territory or sunshine could make up for inactivity or inattentiveness to military wants and needs.

Business leaders from New York's suburban Nassau County to Norfolk, Virginia, to Junction City, Kansas (Ft. Riley), to Los Angeles hitched their wagons to the Pentagon's five-star budgets, and their cities prospered. Those in New York City and, surprisingly, San Antonio failed to do as well as they might have because they loosened their military connections. Charleston, South Carolina, stands as an exceptional case of successful procurement without significant local promotion. Charleston, however, had Senator Ben Tillman, Congressman Mendel Rivers, and other defenders on the Potomac to look after its interests.

Several authors put more stress on the results of metropolitan militarization. Carl Abbott documents the forced marches of Seattle and Portland into the field of urban planning, and Robert Fairbanks and Zane Miller detail the remarkable forays of wartime government into Cincinnati's biracial system. Christopher Silver's chapter on Norfolk, however, best scouts the military's advance into municipal policy making. In Norfolk and elsewhere, military leaders and their counterparts in defense industries commanded changes in city priorities. Regardless of other municipal needs, bases and factories captured land, roads, and water systems, all given in willing tribute to the defense establishment and its potential for economic benefit to local communities.

Nowhere was there a decisive flank attack on those who used tax dollars to entice military spenders. All levels of the populace greeted the friendly invaders with open arms. The political issues generated by the military's presence, issues beyond the scope of these initial essays, centered on who could surrender most quickly to military demands.

As a beachhead study, this book is a good one. It stirs interest, and it points to new issues for urban historians in the age of Caspar Weinberger. Why, for example, did the armed services make camp at Huntsville, Dothan, and Mobile, among other places in Alabama? How has the military altered Alabama's economy, politics, and, through integration, its social life? Have Maxwell and Gunter Air Force bases made Montgomery more conservative on spending issues and more liberal

on racial matters than the former Confederate capital might otherwise have been?

Lotchin and his men have led a good charge on a new topic in urban and military history. This forward company now awaits reinforcements.

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